

A black and white photograph of a church interior. The image shows a large, arched window on the left side, with a grid of panes. Below the window, there are several rows of dark wooden pews. A few people are visible sitting in the pews. The architecture features high, vaulted ceilings and classical columns. The text is overlaid on the upper half of the image.

# **IN COMMUNITY AT THE LORD'S TABLE.**

Calvinist Churches  
architecture in  
Hungary between  
the two world wars

# EN COMUNIDAD EN LA MESA DEL SEÑOR.

Arquitectura de las  
iglesias calvinistas  
en Hungría, entre  
las dos guerras  
mundiales.

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## Abstract

The two most important elements of protestant worship are the Word teaching and the liturgic Lord's supper. Furniture that serves these elements, substantially affects the shape, the forming and the arrangement of the church. The current research focuses on the Hungarian Calvinist church architecture of the period between the two World Wars, which has not discovered yet. In the church construction of the Central and Eastern European country around the turn of the century, the question of the identification of Reformed church architecture was already formulated, but the truly expansive construction activity occurred in the interwar period, coinciding with the appearance and the spreading of the modernist style. According to our hypothesis, by analysing the buildings belonging to the mentioned period and area, a space forming typology can be made with discovering the correspondence which shows the changing of idea of Calvinist church space in a well-defined time period in the life of a Central and Eastern European country.

Keywords: Calvinist church, typology, East-Central-Europe, Hungary, between the two World Wars, space forming.

## Resumen

Los dos elementos más importantes de la adoración protestante son la enseñanza de la Palabra y la cena litúrgica del Señor. Los muebles que sirven a estos elementos, afectan sustancialmente la forma, la formación y la disposición de la iglesia. La investigación actual se centra en la arquitectura de la iglesia calvinista húngara del período comprendido entre las dos guerras mundiales, que aún no se ha descubierto. En la construcción de la iglesia del país de Europa Central y Oriental alrededor del cambio de siglo, la cuestión de la identificación de la arquitectura reformada de la iglesia ya estaba formulada, pero la actividad de construcción realmente expansiva ocurrió en el período de entreguerras, coincidiendo con la aparición y la difusión del estilo modernista. De acuerdo con nuestra hipótesis, al analizar los edificios pertenecientes al período y área mencionados, se puede hacer una tipología espacial al descubrir la correspondencia que muestra el cambio de idea del espacio de la iglesia calvinista en un período de tiempo bien definido en la vida de un Centro y país de Europa del Este.

Palabras claves: Iglesia calvinista, tipología, Europa del Este-Central, Hungría, entre las dos guerras mundiales, formación del espacio.



## Introduction

As a result of the reformation of the 16th century, new dogmatical, theological movements appeared in the Christian church, and religiosity was polarized along these lines. The official response of the Roman Catholic Church was presented in the counter-reformation processes, but beside the doctrines of Luther and Calvin more radical perceptions were appeared. Only a few of them dealt with the aesthetic-artistic aspects of dogmatic issues, but some of them greatly influenced the architectural tendencies of the trend. The most apparent change in demand was in the Calvinist branch of Protestantism. In their view, the church is not the dwelling place of God, it is not a sacral space in itself, the congregation (community event) makes of it a sacred place. It get in contact with the Lord by raising and transmitting the spirit of the Calvinist believer to God, so God is present in mankind, say in the congregation.

Calvin declared that worship should not affect the senses but the mind. Therefore the use of crosses, candles, banished images, statues were forbidden from the churches, because in the view of Calvin, they could lead to idolatry. In his early concept, he even banned the organ from the congregation's room to praise to the Lord with song alone. He removed the altar and replaced it with the Lord's table. In the Calvinist religion, the preaching of the Word is an important element of the ceremony therefore the pulpit is the other basic interior spaceforming element beside the Lord's table. They have to occupy a central place in the space, so the congregation can take it around more, with increasingly engaging the community experience.

In Europe, the buildings of the Calvinist Church consisted mostly of medieval temples taken from Catholics in the decades following the reform. These were formed by the transformation of the internal architecture according to the concepts of Calvin and Zwingli to satisfy the aesthetic and spatial ideals of their own liturgy. The basic pursuit of the reformation to bring the Christian religion back to its primordial simplicity have resulted that the Old Christian art was kept to be followed in architectural styles. However, there was little need for construction of new buildings, and most of these churches did not create the foundations of the Calvinist church style, and most of all, the impact of Catholic tradition can be traced in these temples. Nevertheless, owing to the preaching of the native language the Protestantism has spread rapidly in Central Europe, as one of the most important area was counted the eastern part of the contemporary Hungary, with Transylvania and Debrecen in today's Hungary as the center. In the 16-17 centuries the country broke into three parts during the Turkish occupation. In the eastern part lords ruled who supported the Protestantism. The typical form of churches of this era was the Charenton type that has spread throughout Europe.

In Hungary, Roman Catholics largely regained their captured temples in the era of counter-reformation. The reformers in the periphery were able to build their own church in the articulated places, in exceptional cases, with the help of significant patronage. This era has kept until the Enlightenment that has introduced in 1781, when the Catholic Habsburg ruler Joseph II Emperor of Germany and Rome proclaimed free religious practice. Although the temples still could not be built with a tower, their entrances could not be opened to the street and usually had to be placed in the middle of the site. The organizational structure of the Hungarian Reformed Church was formed a decade later, which constitutes four large districts of church. The churches

of the great congregation of the countryside were built in the first half of the 19th century and then this process became nationalized (also thanks to the Religious Equality and Reciprocity law in 1868) and constructions began in the capital too during the prosperity of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy's era in the second half of the 19th century. Beside the so-called Charenton-type churches, which have been built cross-axis form, with multi-storey gallery, the longitudinal church type becomes general in this era.

This construction pleasure was ended by World War I (1914-18), after that the central European country possessing with large area since the middle ages had been splat according to the Treaty of Trianon (1920)<sup>1</sup>. The migration of a large protestant population, especially of the reformed religion, came from the disannexed Hungarian-inhabited areas to the inner part of the Carpathian basin towards Hungary which is owning a smaller area. The country was also affected by the Great Depression, but state power based on a strong national ideology was first strengthened by internal cultural policy then by international political developments. As a result of the Vienna Declaration in 1938, which was already on the eve of World War II, larger areas were returned to Hungary. The co-operation between the state and the churches meant an establishment of a new type of nation-state: between 1930 and 1944, another major church-building wave emerged, determinatively motivated by the foundation of an artistic expression of common national affinity and the expression of the reformed identity.

The construction wave has ended by the events after the end of World War II (1939-1945). The Vienna decisions were withdrawn so the recovered territories were disannexed again from the country. The Hungarian Republic, proclaimed as independent in 1945, but soon came under the influence of the Soviet state. According to the Communist anti-clerical ideology, religiosity and sacrality were suppressed, and the number of church constructions were also largely limited and diminished. Only the time of democratic transition (1989) brings change in Eastern Europe that also has effect in ecclesiology and induces another church-building activity in the last two decades of the millennium.

During the period of economic recovery at the end of the 19th century, the general question formed as to whether the ecclesiology of the reformation has its own tradition? The question interested architects as well as theologians, and the attempts to develop an own Calvinist church style were particularly high-quality architectural works at the end of the century. However, in the rapidly changing political and economic environment, in terms of pluralism many trad existed together in the early 20th century.

This has been an important issue since the turn of the century that has been strengthened after the World War I, beacuse of the clarification of identity wished to formulate as a sign of separation and demarcation. Drawing near the reminiscence of the Reformation, this research started few years ago to explore the identification process of a well-defined number of monuments at about 80 years distance of time (Gál & Hevér, 2016)

<sup>1</sup> The principal beneficiaries of territorial division of pre-war Kingdom of Hungary were the Kingdom of Romania, the Czechoslovak Republic, and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The areas that were allocated to neighbouring countries in total (and each of them separately) possessed a majority of non-Hungarian population, but approximately 3.3 million Hungarians inhabitants were left outside of post-Trianon Hungary. With the Treaty of Trianon, the number of Reformed people in Hungary dropped by almost 1 million (916,906). source: <http://www.reformatus.hu/mutat/6823/>

## Method

Research focuses on the less explored period of the first half of the 20th century in Hungarian architectural history. In the interwar period significant social and urbanistic changes took place, which had a global impact on belief of God and local effects in the history of individual congregations. In the field of architecture, after the turn of the century, searching of the national style was continued (Szalai, 1989), which wishing to break away from the historical tradition. In the middle of the interwar period the modernism appeared in Hungary as well. (Ferkai, 1994) All of these together had an effect on the continuous search for an identity of protestant church architecture. (Vukoszávlyev & Urbán & Danielisz & Baku, 2017; Baku 2016).

The research started with the recognition of the scientific literature related to the area, which followed the whole process of analysis. Due to the contemporary social and cultural (thus including church history) processes, this period was characterized by a plentiful of publishing activities, which also included summative and evaluative works. The literature of archaeological history between 1945-89 avoided the question of church building, and researches only began in the time of democratic political change. By elaborating and analyzing the collection of the pastor, József Várady (Várady, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1991a, 1993, 1994, 2000, 2001, 2001a), we also created image of the Reformed church built in the 20th century. The division of memories of approximately 300 temples into historical periods (the period before World War I, between the two world wars and the post-1945 period) showed the period of substantial construction activity: almost twice as many reformed churches were built between the world wars as before the World War I. Due to the outlined historical background above, it was reasonable to study the different styles together and the more diverse architectural picture. (Baku, 2016) The comprehensive exploration and investigation of the study continued with the spatial distribution of the monuments between 1920 and 1944 that includes 113 churches (Gál & Hevér, 2016) (Some of the 120 temples of this era have been destroyed during the years, or destroyed during the war or have been significantly rebuilt.) The records shows that there are 27 churches in the capital and its immediate surrounding, which in itself has shown significant growth for the whole country. (Gál, 2017) (Figure 1).

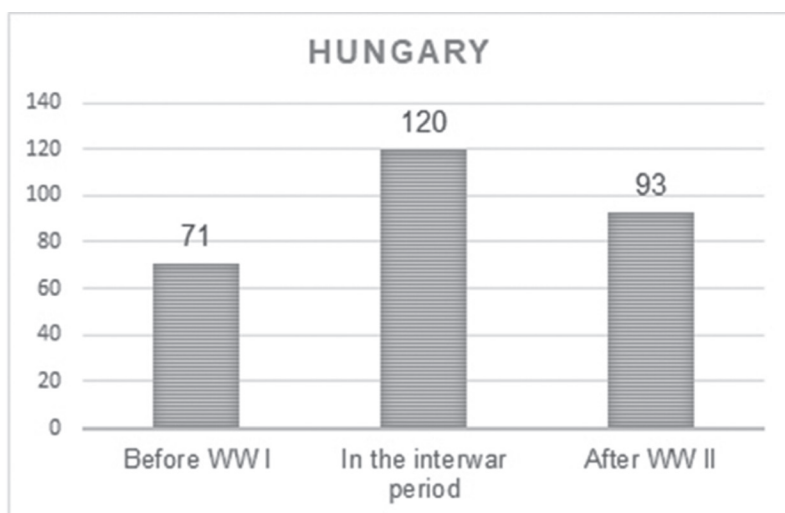


Figure 1. Distribution of Calvinist church buildings before WW I in the interwar period, and after WW II.

Based on the very large number of records, our first hypothesis suggests that a space-forming typology can be used to reveal a change in the traditions of the reformed church spatial trends. Its attachment to the previous periods or its impact was thought to be significant for the next period.

Since we can really get acquainted with the buildings only through direct experience, we have visited the churches personally and for making a survey. During the process we conducted an examination of the churches of the four church districts, including complete photographic documentation of the buildings and their 100-detailed survey plan. The full documentation of the churches gives the framework of this research and forms the principles of the establishments. Subsequent research is based on interviews with pastors and congregation members as well - which create the possibility of anthropological and sociological exploration. (Figure 2).

After more detailed knowledge of the temples further questions were raised as: What kind of link is between the architectural form and the layout? How can the needs of the centered Calvinist liturgy prevail in the Catholic tradition of axial space management? Is it possible in a traditionally protestant area that the cross-axis or centralising space formation is typical? Can be assumed that geographically related memories show a similar spatial shaping? Moving away from the areas of the traditionally reformed eastern part of the country, what kind of plans are dominant? In the case of researched unique space-formed memories, what were the main effects during the planning?

As we conducted our research of the history of architecture, the possibility of chronologicality was brought up and the first review of the memories showed us the possibility to find a temporal connection system between the plan types and the applied architectural styles. However, because of the relatively limited duration of the research period we suppose that the memories can not be clearly chronologically investigated accordingly.

## Results

The aim of architectural history research is to explore the tendencies of organizing the Calvinist demands, which is greatly facilitated by setting up

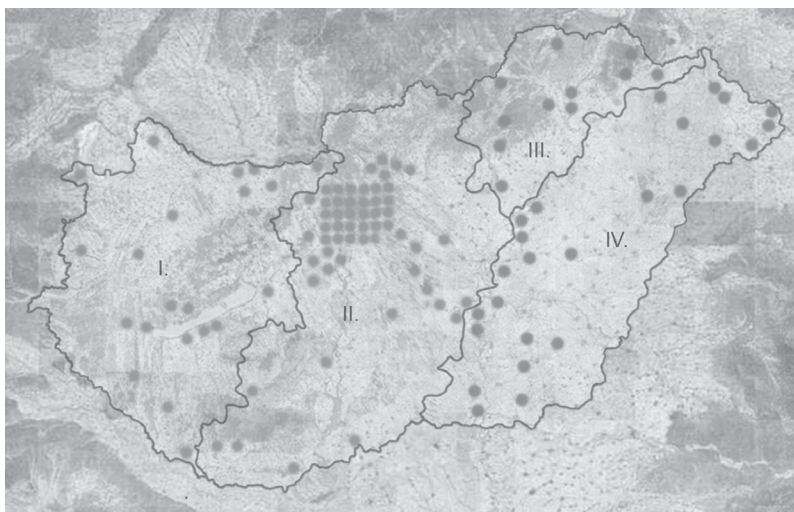


Figure 12. Territorial location of the examined churches  
I. Transdanubian Church District, II. Danubian Church District  
III. Cistibiscan Church District, IV. Transcistibiscan Church District



a layout typology. (Images 27-30.) We divided the buildings researched into five large and sub-groups, and based on these, the following typological system was developed, taking into account the principles of appreciation in international architecture (Distel, 1933; Biedrzynski, 1938), but also the specific Central European research situation (Bibó, 1985; Harasimovicz 2015; Baku 2013; 2016; Vukoszávlyev 2016):

- Hall church.
- Longitudinal spatial formation with a tower in axis.
- Longitudinal spatial formation with an asymmetric tower.
- Longitudinal spatial formation without tower.
- Longitudinal and cross-axis spaceforming.
- Cross-axis spaceforming.
  - Centralising church with a transept.
  - Corner church.
  - Flabelliform layout.
  - Polygonal layout.

The longitudinal space-oriented direction is represented by churches without a cross-axis. Churches belonging to groups named longitudinal and cross-axis spaceforming, cross-axis spaceforming, centralising church with a transept, corner church, fan shape layout and polygonal layout are to be categorized in the direction of centralising space organization, because there is already a change in the group named longitudinal and cross-axis spaceforming as compared with usual longitudinal compositional intentions. In Central Europe, since the late Middle Ages, the architectural tradition has been characterised by a middle-towered church form, it became the pattern of the most popular village church in the Baroque period and only the larger representative churches were built with two towers. Accordingly, it is not surprising that a significant part of records shows mostly the subsistence of this temple form, and it can be divided into groups with the difference from it.

The first group is made up of hall churches, which can be divided into five sub-groups. The first is the type of longitudinal spatial formation with a tower in axes, which is the most commonly used form in the tradition of Catholic Church Architecture in our country. The pulpit and the Lord's table are arranged on the longitudinal axis, which is led by the tower in axis at the entrance, and in many places the sanctuary is still felt. (Figures 3-4.) There are temples located at the border of the longitudinal groups which reach a strong central effect with their close or precisely quadratic proportion. In the ecclesiastical church of Komárom there is a ship-sanctuary relationship, which makes the space losing this effect a little, but the rotation of the benches and the presence of the U-shaped gallery greatly contributes to the strengthening of centrality. (Figures 5-6.).

In the next subgroup, longitudinal spatial effect is altered in some extent by asymmetrical tower placement. With placing the tower at the side, the effect of longitudinal axis is less emphatic. We also met three exceptional examples in this group: the 'campanile' tower shaping does not connect directly to the mass of the church, but an arcade connects the two parts. This architectural form has an Italian tradition - just in this era, there was a strong cultural relationship between the two countries. Hungarian architects took part in important study tours to get acquainted with the meditational



Figure 3. Interior of Vái.

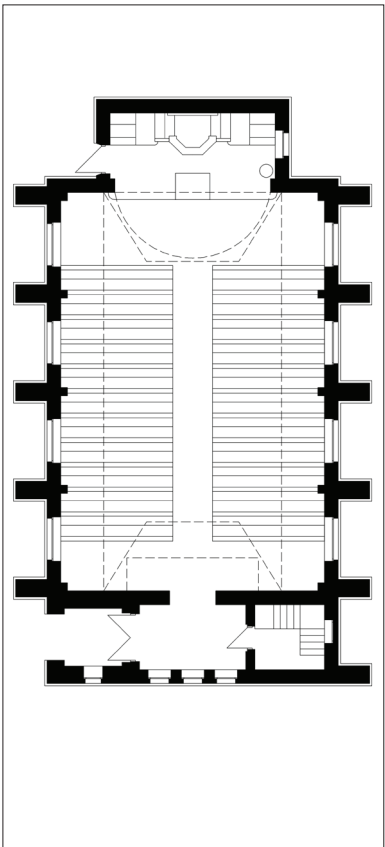


Figure 4. Layout of Vái.



Figure 5. Interior of Komárom.

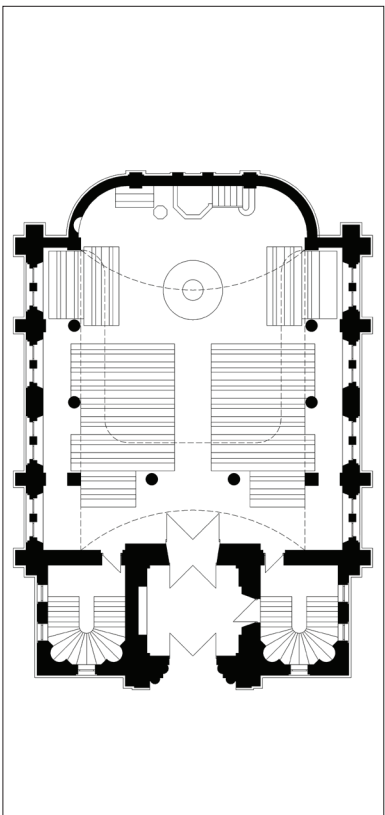


Figure 6. Layout of Komárom.



Figure 7. Interior of Pozsonyi Street of Budapest.

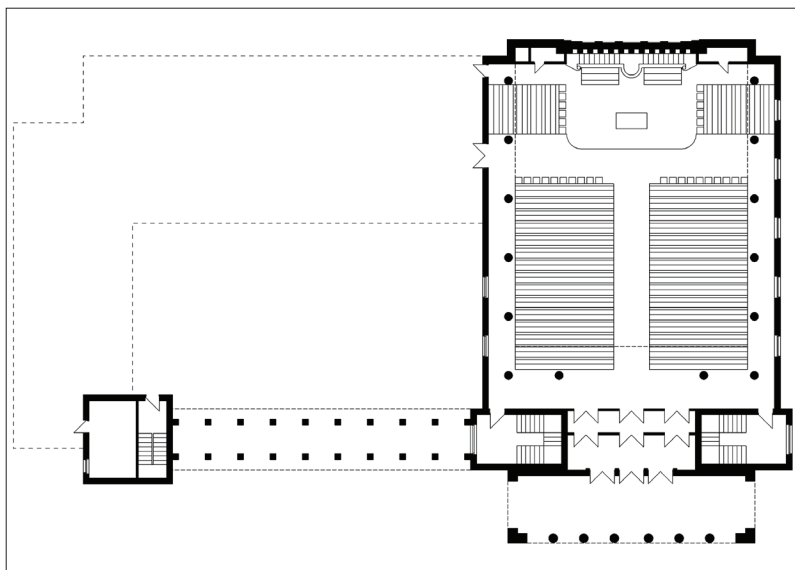


Figure 8. Layout of Pozsonyi Street of Budapest.

country. (Figures 7-8.) The tower of the modern style church of Szombathely was not completed, it was only finished in 2016. According to the original plan, it would have been in the middle of the left side of the building, but this was not possible because of the change of the urban space. Today, the tower is located in the plane of the entrance and a not-opened corridor connects the two parts.

In both groups it can be seen that the apse-design shaping sanctuary changes, and the refinement of furniture arrangement transforms space use according to the Calvinist ideas. (Figure 9.).

The third subgroup is the longitudinal spatial formation without tower type. The longitudinal formation of the building is less noticeable in this group. (Figures 10-11.) In the eastern outskirts of the capital, the modern church of the Inner-Józsefváros (Budapest) has an unique tower design: the building is located in the yard, but later a tower has been built on the streetfront,

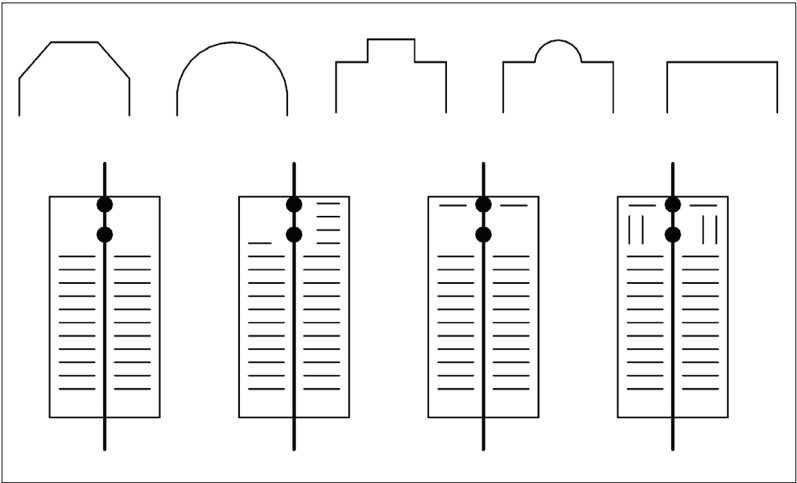


Figure 9. Apse-design shaping sanctuary changes and the refinement of furniture arrangement.



Figure 10. Interior of Pasarét of Budapest.

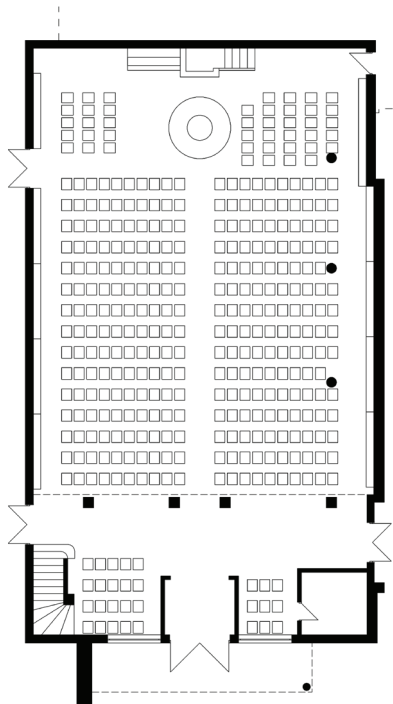


Figure 11. Layout of Pasarét of Budapest.



Figure 12. Interior of Board Church of Miskolc.

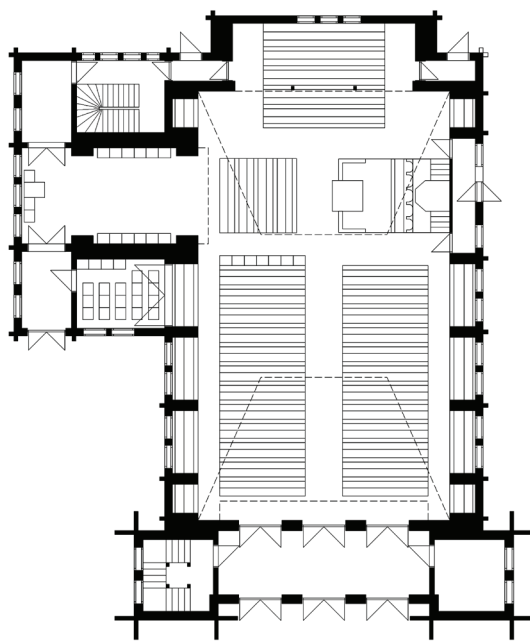


Figure 13. Layout of Board Church of Miskolc.

and it is connected to the adjacent buildings, so looking at the street, the tower can be thought of as belonging to the church without seeing that the church is more far away.

In the next subgroup, the primary existing longitudinal formation is enriched by a cross-axis space organizing composition. Furniture is arranged on the cross-axis, but the tower and the entrance remain in the main axis. In the Board Church, built in Miskolc, with 'Hungarian' style which uses folk style forms, we see this intent of forming to be reinforced because there is another gallery opposite the entrance (at the opposite end of the church space), which strengthens the centralising space organization. In addition to the appearance of the gallery, the building is also enriched with another entrance in the cross-axis, allowing arrival opposite the pulpit and Lord's table. The building block and floor plan of the Board Church show special





Figure 14. Interior of Magosliget.

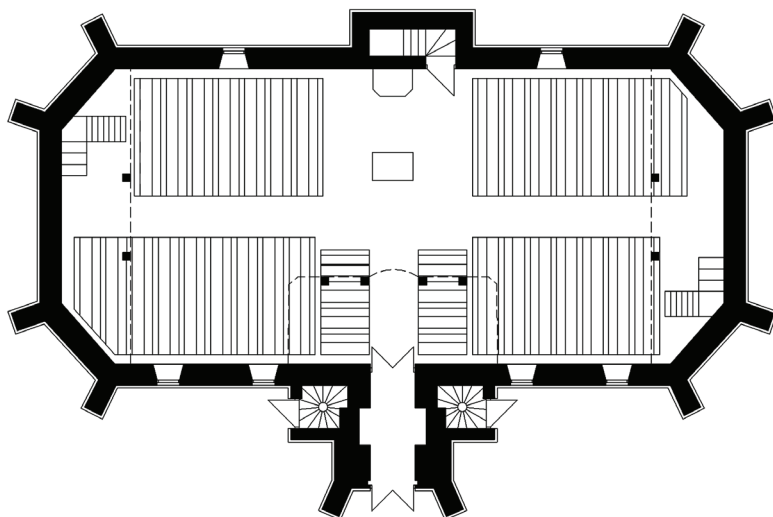


Figure 15. Layout of Magosliget.

architectural design. Only here, funeral home joins to the temple area in the Lord's table-pulpit axis. The church has two towers, of which the dominant tower is located above the funeral home, and the subordinate is on the left side of the entrance facade. (Figures 12-13.)

In two churches galleries are at both ends of the longitudinal axis and one more entrance is placed in the cross-axis. These two examples are gradation to the next group.

This consists of churches with cross-axis spaceforming, in which the longitudinal organization is far behind. The tower, the entrance, the pulpit and the Lord's Hall are in the cross-axis. In the neo-gothic building in Magosliget, the benches are organized around the table, in addition, a third gallery was built opposite the pulpit. This last type enhances the central space effect to a greater extent, since the three galleries surround the pulpit and the Lord's table space, thus giving a vertical emphasis to it. (Figures 14-15.)



Figure 16. Interior of Sopron.

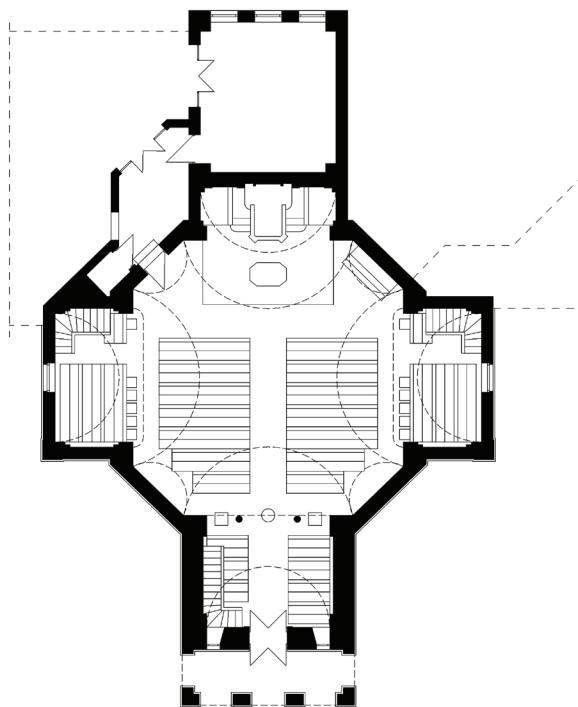


Figure 17. Layout of Sopron.

The second main group is centralising church with a transept, characterised by the addition of a significant size transept to the nave, which helps in the centralisation intention and creates many seats near the pulpit. The advantage of this type is that more people can be placed near the pulpit and the Lord's table. We have distinguished two types: the T-floor plan and the Greek cross plan. The greek cross plan has the opportunity that the liturgy center coincides with the geometric center if the Lord's table is in the center of the church space. In the eclectic church of Sopron, the Lord's table is placed almost in the middle of the church space and the four projections of the central part are of the same size. Over the projections there are joints with separate entrances, which make the space even more central. (Images 16-17.)



Figure 18. Interior of Földeák.

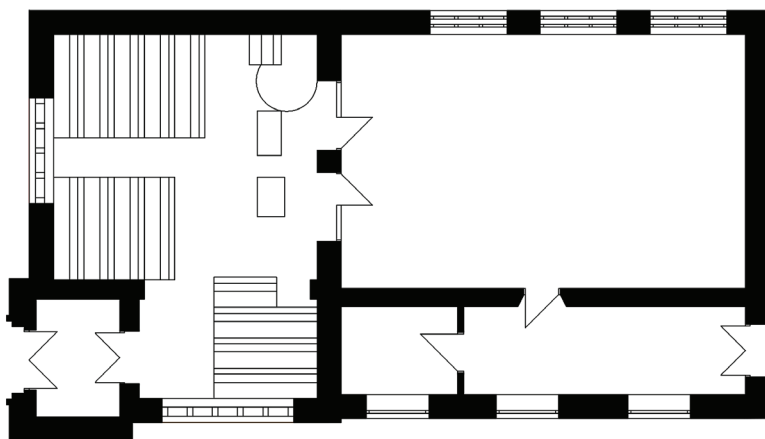


Figure 19. Layout of Földeák.

The third major group is the corner church type. The use of this innovative model based on Sturm's principles (Sturm 1712, 1718) was shaped by an urbanistic situation in the modern temple of Földeák. The building including a school as well was built in a right-angled corner plot. There is also a vicarage beside it. The temple church, which is created at the tower located at the corner, is between these two functions, and by joining the sacred space and the lecture hall, the church space can be enlarged for larger holidays. The tower and at the same time the entrance position, the expansiveness direction and the most optimal furniture designated the proper position of the pulpit, so this unique corner layout could be formed in this way. (Images 18-19.)



Figure 20. Interior of University Temple of Debrecen.

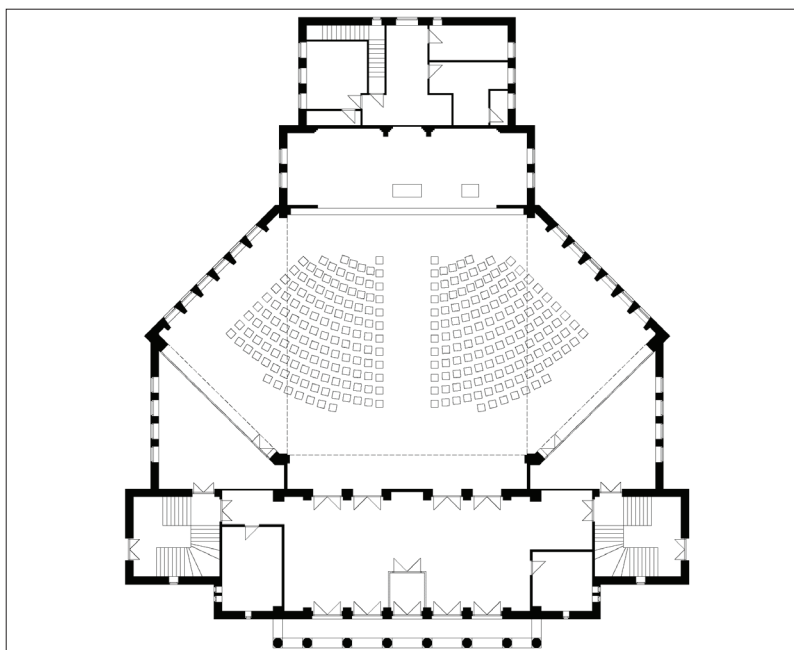


Figure 21. Layout of University Temple of Debrecen.

The fourth is the flabelliform layout. It is a peculiarity that church benches are around the pulpit and Lord's table similar to a fan, enabling more people to get close to the two objects. This solution refers to the spread of modern engineering approaches - architects have dealt with the ideal formulation of temple spaces by criterion of visibility and audibility in the 18th century. In University Temple of Debrecen (Debrecen is the intellectual center of the Hungarian Reformation) József Borsos, who is the chief architect in this town, chose this flabelliform like forming which similar to a "theater hall". This arrangement with galleries placed at the end of fan shape layout above and beyond the entrance, is capable to accommodate large numbers of people without the believers coming too far away from the pulpit or the Lord's table, as in a longitudinal spatial formed church with large host capacity. Acoustics and visibility are the primary in the composition: the line of the benches is perpendicular to the radius of the pulpit so that people can directly see the preaching pastor. (Images 20-21.)



Figure 22. Interior of Honvéd Square of Szeged.

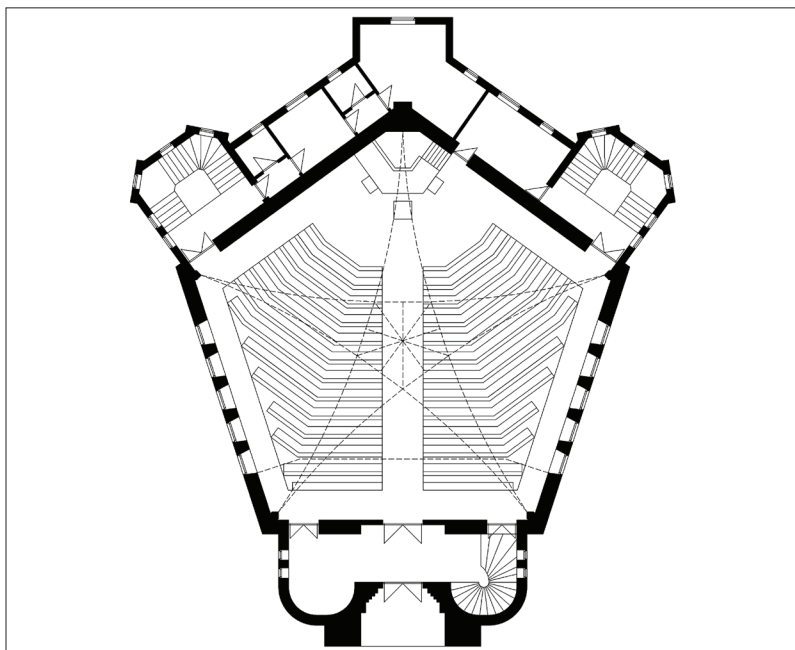


Figure 23. Layout of Honvéd Square of Szeged.

The last group is the polygonal form, in which geometric composition is decisive. Following the pattern of the ideal plans seen at Strum, the pulpit and the Lord's table are in one corner of the odd numbered polygon and the entrance to the church is located opposite to them. The church, is on Honvéd Square in Szeged which town is located on the southern edge, is built on a corner plot with two street joining in an acute angle. The building has a typical, regular pentagonal layout, the acute angle is enhanced by the imposing tower in the corner position. The pulpit is at the end of the longitudinal axis facing the entrance, giving direction to the furniture, which turn towards the preacher adapting to the floor plan. For the sake of uniform space, the regular spatial form is covered by a reinforced concrete structure, modern form is with homogeneous clinker brick being in favor of German Protestant architecture. (Images 22-23.)





Figure 24. Interior of Sümeg.

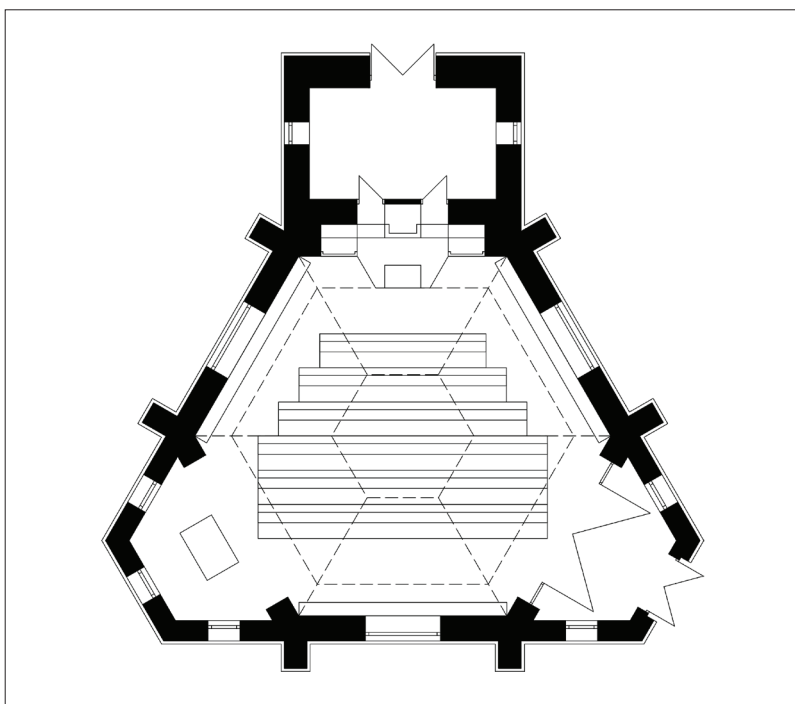


Figure 25. Layout of Sümeg.

The construction of the church in Sümeg was jointly proposed by the two protestant congregations (calvinist and lutheran). The triangle shaped plot bordering by three streets was donated by the city to the two churches. The unique design of the building was also influenced by the capability of the plot: parts of the building that place the organ and the entrance, as well as the tower are additionally linked to the internal hexagonal shape, thus forming a triangular shape which fits to the shape of the plot. The architect wished to distinguish the church being in a special urban situation from neighboring plastered houses, so he designed the building in stone and brick which are typical in his style. (Images 24-25.)

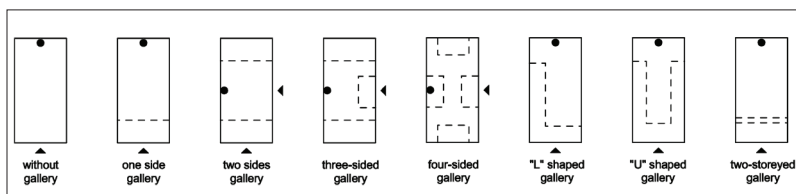


Figure 26. Types of galleries.

In the case of the corner church, the flabelliform shape and the regular polygonal floor plan, the centralisation intention can be clearly detected, which can be well identified in the international protestant church architecture, but in the case of the Hungarian Calvinist church spaces only a few examples can be observed. This shows us that instead of these modern edits, we should look for the more traditional solutions to find the unique Calvinist temple form.

Apart from the floorplan composition, architecturally decisive, of course, is the need for spaceforming. The host capacity of a church with small floor area can be expanded by placing galleries. During the period under research, we can see a variety of galleries. The most common solution - more than half of the buildings in the survey use it - is placing gallery in the longitudinal axis over the entrance, therefore in the longitudinal space opposite the pulpit. Mostly, in churches with cross-axis, the situation is that galleries appear on both sides of the space, thereby strengthening the centralized spatial formation. Rare solutions can be found in several temples: galleries are at three or four sides of the space, each have a separate stair. In the case of "L" and "U" shaped solutions, it is necessary to carefully determine the depth of galleries in relation to the ratio of space as well in the interest of looking at the pulpit adequately which is placed in the longitudinal axis.

The spatial role of galleries which modulate further floor plan formations is decisive. Galleries which are placed on more than one side - the two sides, three-sided, four-sided, "L", "U" shaped, and two-storeyed ones - can also be interpreted as an intention towards centralization, because they make the space more central to the Lord's table and the pulpit. This may be one of the most important features of the Calvinist church spaces. Nearly a quarter of the buildings - 28 churches - can be reckoned among them. (Image 26.)

## Formal characteristics of the protestant space forms in the interwar period

Our conjecture seemed to be verified that centralising space forming which is the most suitable for Calvinist church type started to spread under the influence of identity thirst appearing at the beginning of the century. (Baku, 2016; Schulek, 1942; Pecz, 1888, Róka, 1996) However, it couldn't become dominant beside longitudinal space forming, we encountered quite a few centralising buildings. (Vukoszávlyev & Urbán & Danielisz & Baku, 2017, Baku, 2016) Despite the large number of construction activities, it seems that form shaping was limited to relatively general solutions. The longitudinal temple form commonly found in the catholic majority country remains strongly present. The numerical comparison is well documented by the fact that 31 centralized and 82 longitudinal space forming churches were built in the country. (Image 31.) In the geographical proximity of Debrecen, which is the intellectual center of Hungarian reformation, this shows relative density of the centralising temples (16 buildings from the 25). Nevertheless, moving

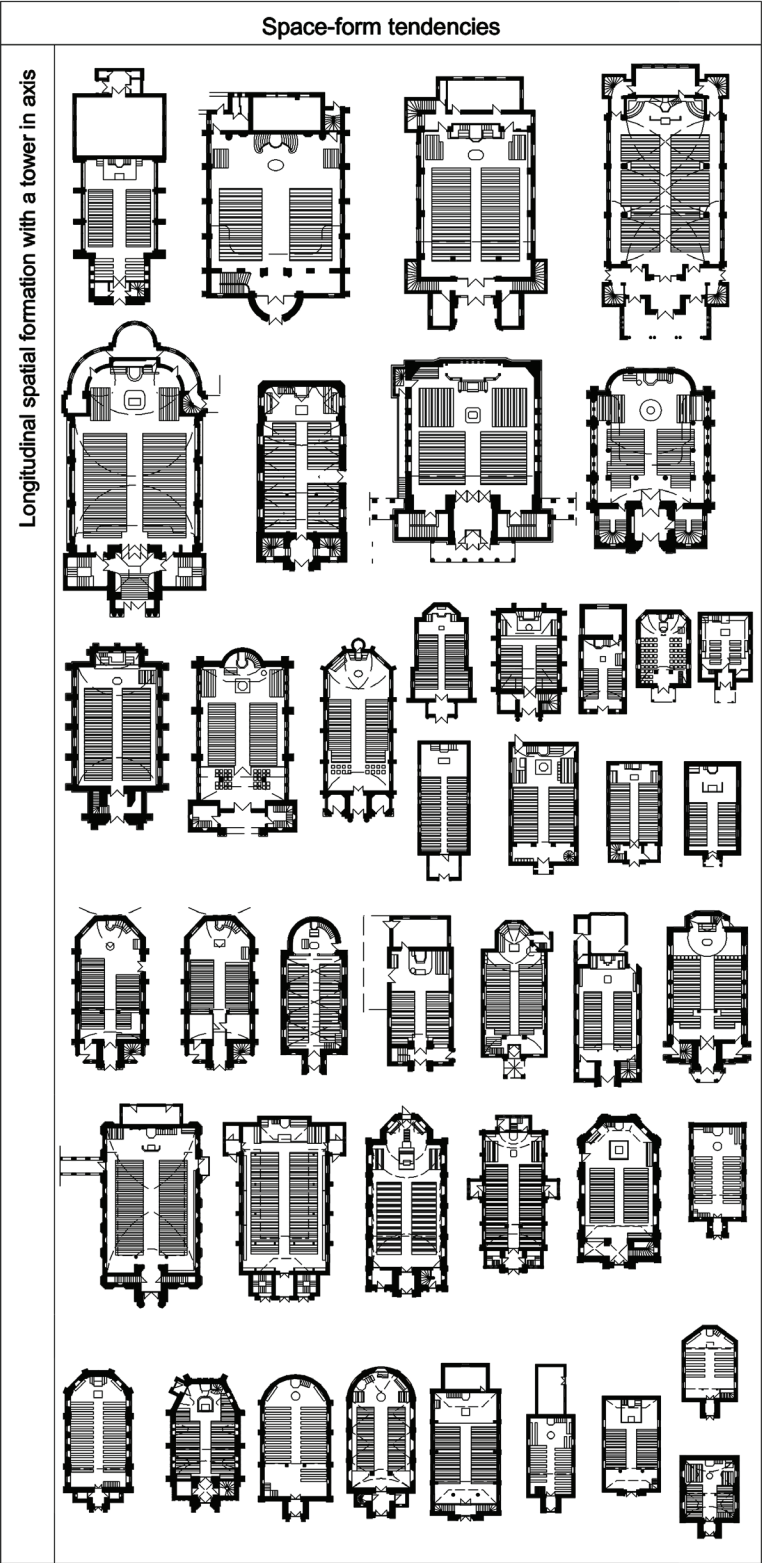


Figure 27. Layout typology, space-form tendencies of Calvinist churches between the world wars in Hungary Table I.

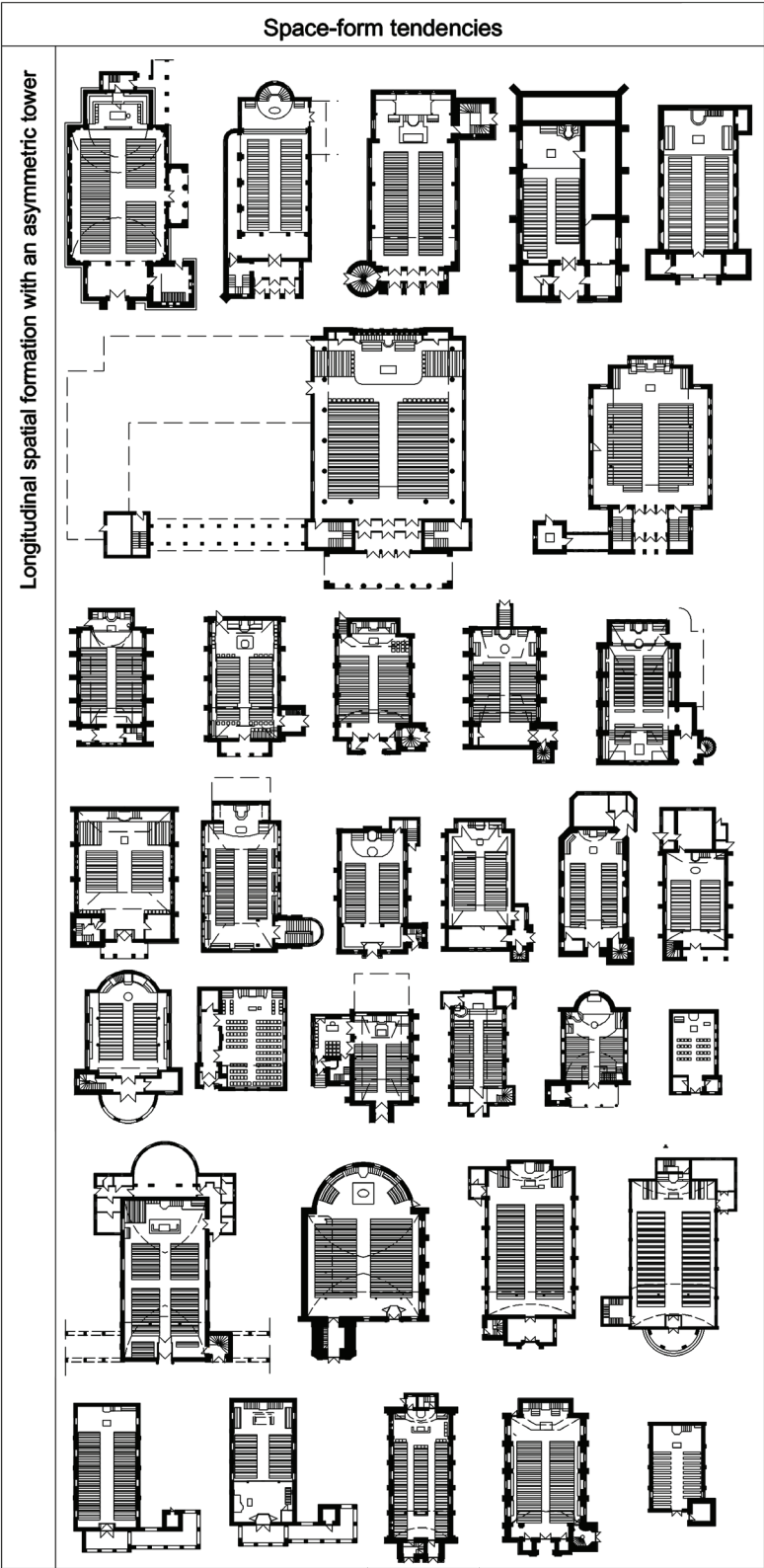


Figure 28. Layout typology, space-form tendencies of Calvinist churches between the world wars in Hungary Table II.

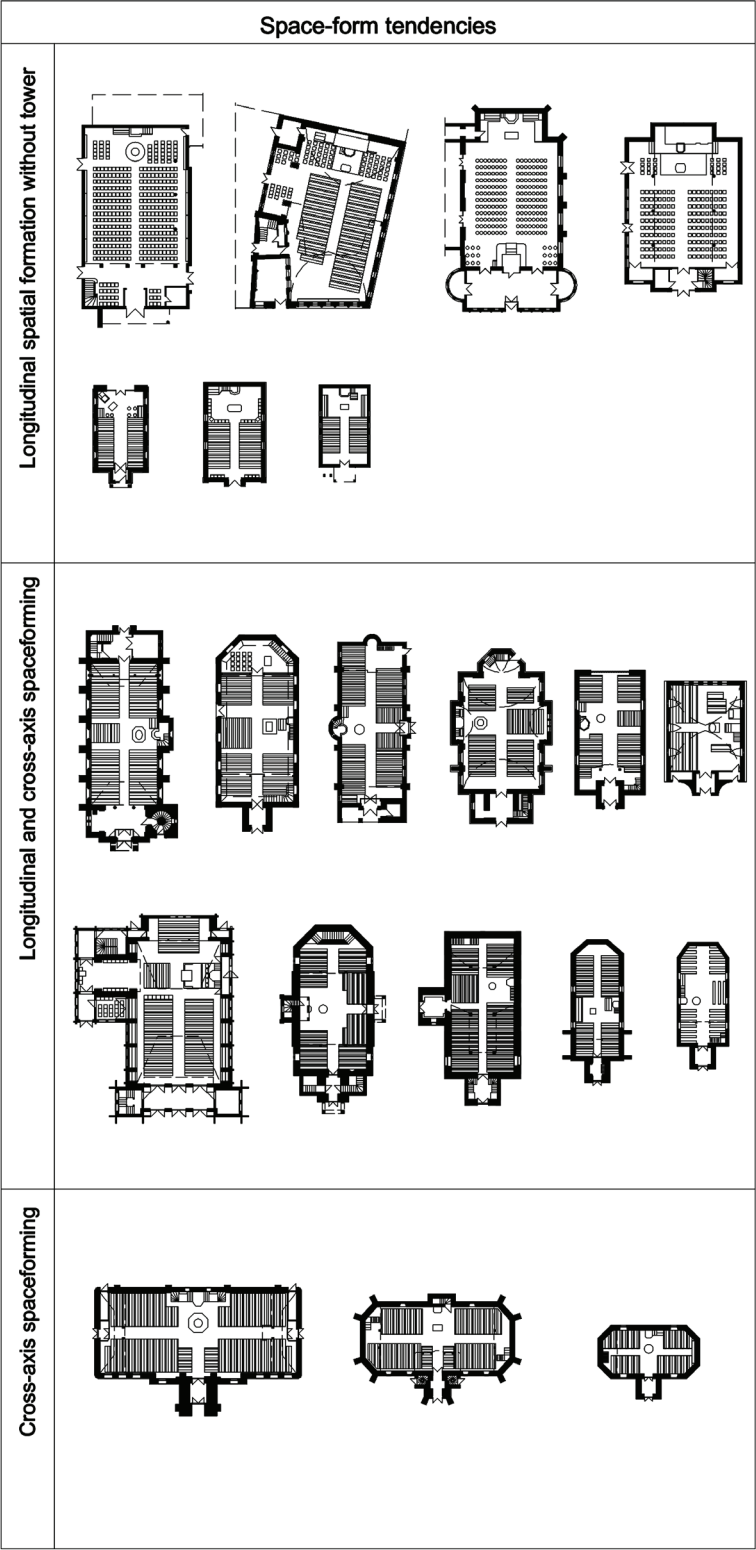


Figure 29. Layout typology, space-form tendencies of Calvinist churches between the world wars in Hungary Table III.



| Space-form tendencies               |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| Centralising church with a transept |  |
| Corner church                       |  |
| Flabelliform layout                 |  |
| Polygonal layout                    |  |

Figure 30. Layout typology, space-form tendencies of Calvinist churches between the world wars in Hungary Table IV.

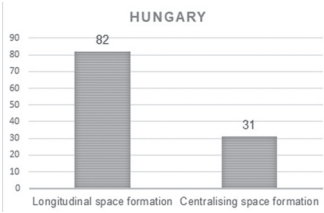


Figure 31. Examination of the longitudinal (1.) and centralising (2.) space-form tendencies of Calvinist churches between the world wars in Hungary.

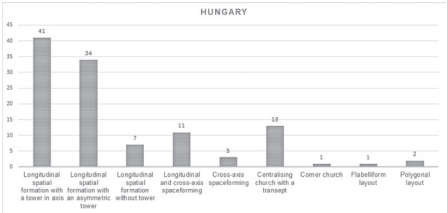


Figure 32. Examination of the space-form tendencies of Calvinist churches between the world wars in Hungary.

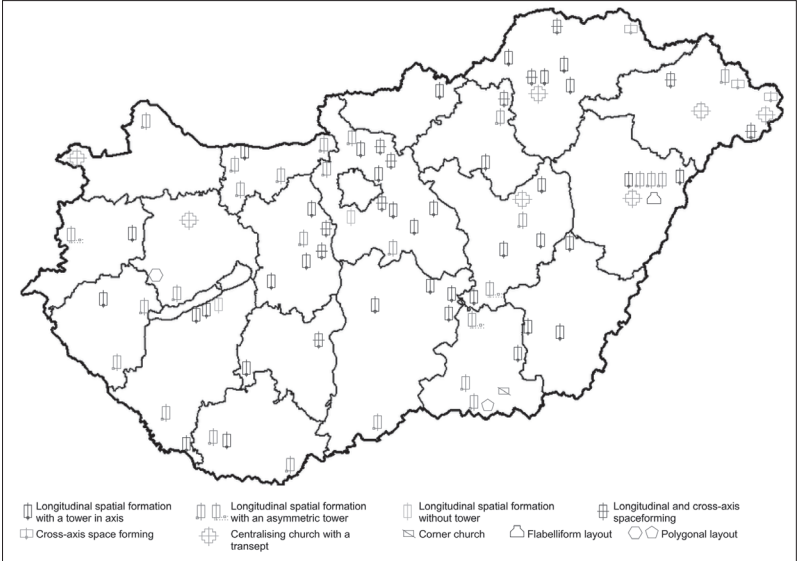


Figure 33. Territorial location of examined churches in Hungary.

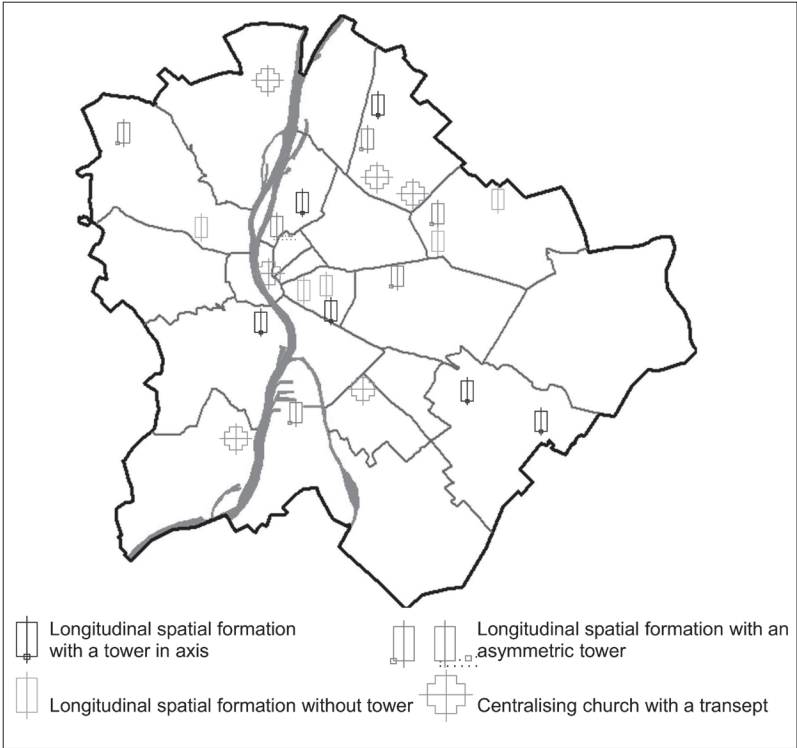


Figure 34. Territorial location of examined churches in Budapest.

away from the center of the reformation, examining the churches of the other two dioceses on the west (only 15 centralising temples of 72), the national rate shifted even more towards the longitudinal axis organization. The capital does not differ in any sense, in Budapest the appearance of the central organization is the same as the national ratio, so in the case of this economically and perhaps more culturally advanced region, we have not experienced any influenced proportions.

Considering the distribution in accordance with floor plan, the difference is even more striking. There are 96 hall churches, and 17 centralising church with a transept and unique shaped churches in the country. (Image 32.)

Looking at the geographical distribution, there are many correlations at the same time. It can be said about the hall churches that they are scattered throughout the country, but clusters can be observed in the sub-groups of the type. Temples of the purely longitudinal space forming group are present in almost all parts of the country, but there are few ones in the peripheral parts, so they are concentrated to the interior of the country. The longitudinal and cross-axis spaceforming churches are grouped around Budapest and in the northeast of the country. The three examples of the purely cross-axis spaceforming group are clearly located in the eastern part of the country, moreover they were built in the immediate vicinity of the frontier. The latter two types gather in traditionally Calvinist area - it would require further research on whether this formulation could be linked to the wider cultural-historical region crossing the borders. It can be noticed that the centralising churches with a transept appear mainly in larger and more important cities: in Debrecen, Miskolc, Sopron, Pápa and Budapest - a simple reason for this is the need for a space and structure formation requiring higher architectural skills. (Image 33-34.)

## Conclusion

Our conjecture which was phrased at the beginning of our research proved to be true in the case of traditional chronological analysis, since there is no linear trend in the practice of plan forming. In summary, it can be stated that the tendencies did not change in essence between the two world wars in the sense that, on the one hand, the longitudinal temple form which commonly used in a traditionally Catholic country remained, yet strong effort appeared from different directions towards centralisation in order to create an autonomous protestant church type. (Baku 2013; 2016).

Our study was carried out with an uniformly definable monuments, where, besides the influence of church-administrative relations, we could mostly encounter the traditions associated with the individual solutions or the appearance and spread associated with the ages in some tendencies. In the strongly transforming socio-political-economic environment, the need for identification of the believer's individual and communal identity was formulated, but its fulfillment was not fully supported by the multiplicity of the typological system. The diversity of church space shaping was experienced near to Debrecen which can be considered as the center of Hungarian reformation, in Budapest and its surroundings, on the other the long-distance plan is dominated in Transdanubia.

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